

THE CATHOLIC MIND

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The Home: America's Foundation

Michael F. Walsh

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The Home: America's Foundation

MICHAEL F. WALSH

Address delivered by the Secretary of State of the State of New York at the 52nd Annual Convention, New York State League of Savings and Loan Associations, Thursday, June 15, 1939, Saranac Inn, New York.

MORE than 150 years ago, Thomas Jefferson, the father of American Democracy, wrote some prophetic words. He foretold the change of the American spirit; how rulers would become corrupt and people careless; how a dictator might arise, and he urged that the essential rights be put upon a legal basis in his day while rulers were honest. Referring to these rights he said, "They (the people) will be forgotten and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, except in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

Three years ago, in an address, Nicholas Murray Butler, the illustrious president of Columbia Univer-

sity, referred to this prophecy and said, "The one dominant question before the world today is whether these rights are to 'revive or to expire in a convulsion.' The answer to this question, when it comes, will be given not from economics or from what is vaguely described as social science or from law or from politics. It must come, if it comes at all, from morals." And, in the same address, Dr. Butler stated, "If we can get back to morals, the world will again begin to progress in the spirit of achievement which has marked it for more than two thousand years."

If all of us recognize the fact that although we may have the free will and the physical power to live as we please, there does exist a fixed code of morality to which we should conform, then we would have made the first and probably most important step toward the peace and the happiness which this world craves. "Morality is definitely based upon order in the universe, and order is based upon the nature of things."

We as Americans, as well as rational beings, hold that man is by nature "social." Universally throughout their known history, men lived a social life. It is their natural aptitude and natural inclination. It is also a moral necessity that men conspire with each other to obtain a common good by cooperative society. This natural inclination of man prompts him to form two kinds of society. The first is domestic, and the second is civil. Domestic society in turn is composed of at least two simple societies: conjugal and parental.

Physiologically and psychologically, Nature destines man to conjugal society. It is obvious to us that this is a requisite for the suitable propagation and education of humankind. There are two ends of conjugal society. The first is the proper procreation and education of children. The secondary end consists in the mutual love and helpfulness of the married couple.

Here some may be inclined to transpose these ends. To fortify my statements, I bring forth no theology, but appeal only to your reason as rational beings. As Aristotle said, "Just as man is the most excellent of all animals if he is ruled by reason, so also he is the most pernicious of them all if he is ruled by his irascible appetite or by his passion of concupiscence."

The Natural Law also dictates that the conjugal union between man and woman be permanent, and here a few may refuse to follow, but again I appeal to your reason and submit that if you concede the primary or secondary ends of conjugal society, you must conclude that these cannot be attained without permanence of the union.

Because the State recognizes the Natural Law, our statutes prohibit polygamy. Here we have the foundation of the family in the Natural Law and the foundation of the home. The union of husband and wife in civil, as well as in ecclesiastical law, is called marriage. That institution is under fire.

The revolt against marriage and the home today is a revolt against morality. The leaders of the revolt are not soap-box orators. They are not a common species of agitators and anarchists. They would fit in the class of decent respectable people. They are found in the professor's chair, at the editor's desk, in the casts on the stage, on the lecture platform, and in our financial, industrial and commercial institutions. They have the use, if not the control, of many of the liberal as well as the radical newspapers and periodicals. One of them in his cruel cleverness referred some years ago to the ignorant masses as the "Boo-boisie." It is almost literary treason to differ with them, much less condemn them, but a few quotations from some of them should convince you that they are the leaders in the revolt against man's natural institutions—marriage and the home.

H. G. Wells, in a magazine article, takes pride in

the part he plays. "People ask," he says, "Are you for or against marriage? Would you abolish it?" He replies, "We are all for and against marriage, and we abolish it piecemeal continually. . . . The marriage of today is not the marriage of yesterday, and still less is it likely to be the marriage of tomorrow. . . . The change in manners and morals in the last century has been tremendous." An esteemed American Protestant minister with a different point of view comments, "It took more than five hundred years for ancient pagan Rome to reach the degeneracy of the later republic in the matter of divorce. It took less than three hundred years for Christian America to reach the degeneracy which ranks us lower than any other nation in Christendom, and is scarcely exceeded by non-Christian Japan."

Some leaders of the revolt, however, are impatient because the dissolution of marriage and the abolition of the home is progressing slowly. Bertrand Russell, who obtains too much space in our American journals, wrote sometime ago: "The views of the average man on sexual ethics are those appropriate to the economic system existing in the time of his great-grandfather. Morality has varied as economic systems have varied, lagging always about three generations behind."

I would not offend you by quoting the statements of professors in noted universities such as Chicago, Wisconsin, and Columbia, but state in plain words that they hold that marriage is not always to be preferred to free-love.

I have mentioned only the recent enemies of marriage and the home. They had predecessors, prominent among whom was Marx, the father of Communism and of the totalitarian state.

The assault upon this natural system of man has produced some distressing results, particularly in our own United States. It has produced vices which, re-

gardless of the fancy names and the alleged social progress, are actually contrary to the natural law. Among these are contraception, abortion, divorce. The results are broken homes, misery.

A brief reference to divorce statistics, compiled a few years ago, would indicate the leadership of the United States in the assault upon marriage, the family, and the home:

France	1	divorce out of	21	marriages
Denmark	1	" " "	22	"
Germany	1	" " "	24	"
Norway	1	" " "	30	"
Sweden	1	" " "	33	"
Great Britain	1	" " "	96	"
Canada	1	" " "	161	"
Japan	1	" " "	8	"
United States	1	" " "	7	"

Students of this situation, who have been watching the trend, indicate that if it continues at the present rate during the next six or seven years in these United States, we will have one divorce for every five marriages.

During the thirty years from 1906 to 1936, the number of divorces increased more than 100 per-cent over the preceding thirty years. From 1906 to 1936—about one generation in these United States—we had 3,000,000 divorces; 3,000,000 broken homes; 6,000,000 dreams of marital bliss shattered; millions of men and millions of women, and millions of children deprived of home—which is America's security. Millions of children lost their parental sunshine, their mental, moral, and material guardianship which they had a right to expect from the man and woman who brought them into the world.

Incidentally, on the doorsteps of our legislators may we place a substantial part of the blame for easy divorce laws, which are fast bringing us conditions such as exist only in Godless Russia today.

The home has been subjected not only to an assault on its moral foundation, but it has been the victim of economic attack. How many more homes and more home owners would there be in this State except for the economic depression that is now completing its tenth year? How many homes have been abandoned, how many married couples have had to separate, often scattering their children, because they could not pay taxes and interest? Saving the home was not a part of the government relief program except for those who could carry on.

The chaotic conditions in our beloved land—economic, political, and social—may be traced to the same cause. The problems are not new. They have existed in every era of the world's history. All of our troubles arise from defeat in the conflict between the spirit of man and the animal of man. We have these problems when the animal of man is in control. Our great scientific progress has not changed the basic problems. Is there a fixed moral law which all men should observe or is man just an animal subject only to his instincts?

The moral law to which most of us submit, and by virtue of which all real progress has been made since the dawn of creation, is not difficult to ascertain. We recognize immediately that it is wrong to kill, and it is wrong to steal. The law was written on our hearts by our Creator. More than twenty-five centuries have elapsed since the ten rules of life were carried by Moses from Mount Sinai. More than twenty centuries have elapsed since the Carpenter of Galilee summarized them in two commandments, the love of God and the love of neighbor. Except the perverted and mentally unbalanced, every man and woman wants the benefit of these rules of life. The Jewish, the Christian, and the Moslem world have accepted them. The difficulty arises, however, between the profession, the recognition of the existence of this moral code and

the practice of it. Just so long as selfishness, gain-seeking instincts, the thirst for power and pleasure dominate human beings and nations in the world, just so long as the animal in man prevails over the spirit, we cannot hope for the elimination of the leprosy which has afflicted marriage or for the elimination of any of the other social ills that plague this country and the world. The something that is wanting is the observance of the moral law. The clear purpose which so many Americans lack is the ambition to attain perfect truth, perfect knowledge, and perfect love which cannot be found in mere worldly objectives. We will have poverty, enterprise will be stagnated, law will crumble and civilization will go back until the American people regain the vision of their forefathers which takes them beyond the grave.

The materialistic philosophy which has brought America and other parts of the world to their present state of degeneracy cannot see and will not look beyond the grave. It refuses to understand that we in America, who have everything material, have not been able to satisfy the natural yearnings of the spirit of man.

The solution of this problem should not be passed over to government. We cannot hope that our secular universities will be a stabilizing influence. Our educators are boasting of "absolute academic freedom." This "involves the right of the professor to teach whatever seems to him to be true, irrespective of any external standard or authority." They boast of rights and the preservation of rights, of freedom and of the suppression of everything that may curtail freedom. If educators would save our social institutions including marriage, the family, and the home—if they would contribute to the solution of our economic and political problems—let them emphasize obligations.

The right is valueless without a corresponding obligation. One person cannot enjoy a right unless

others perform the obligations which make the exercise of that right possible. A child has a right to live; it will die unless its parents or guardians perform their obligations and supply the food necessary to sustain the body.

The moral law is more than a custom. It is a rule of reason which is absolute and which binds all men and women, regardless of race, color, or creed. It is built upon sound reason, and supports genuine freedom.

Under the moral law, one is not entitled to do *whatever he pleases*. That is the law of the Libertine. That is the law of the jungle. Under the moral law, one may be entitled to do more or less than that which a dictator says he *must* do. Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini have set themselves up as dictators of a moral law of their own making. The moral law sustains the right of one to do, and requires one to do that which he *ought* to do. The moral law was not made by man, nor has any man the right to amend it or to repeal it.

The reestablishment of the respect for the moral law is something which we, the people, must accomplish. Governments, educational institutions, social life, business, are merely reflections of ourselves.

We are all interested in the preservation of the home and of the democratic form of government in these United States, in fact as well as in name. We would like to make the most of our opportunities. We long for peace and happiness. Others need it and long for it even more than we.

Recall what I said in the beginning. The natural inclination of man prompts him to form two kinds of society, domestic and civil. I have discussed only the domestic. Need I demonstrate to you that the home, the family, is the unit of civil society? Without the family there would be no material cause for civil society. Civil Society arises from the family.

If marriages are unduly delayed, if they are used

merely for gratification, if men and women persist in avoiding the primary end of marriage, the procreation and the education of children, then what is America's future? America can get along without so many automobiles. America existed before and would continue to exist without the radio and the airplane, but America cannot exist without children. Children cannot be born legally or morally without marriage. Marriage cannot be undertaken without some economic security. Need I prove further that the home, the family is America's foundation.

The home, the family will be America's salvation if America is to be saved. The family will save America when the assaults upon marriage and the home, the natural institutions of man, are completely repulsed or reduced to a minimum. The family will save America when it retakes its former position as the mold of the moral fiber of children. The family, the home will be saved when more men and women enter the marriage state and fulfil its purposes and fewer men and women avoid its responsibilities. Then, and not till then may America fulfil its purpose, which is world leadership not only in economics, not only in education, not only in science, but in the greatest world leadership, the leadership of morals.

The Decay of Man

RAOUL E. DESVERNINE

WE are told that we live today at the height of a world crisis and that we are in the throes of a world-wide political and social revolution which, like a tidal wave, is gradually overtaking us, if indeed it has not already overtaken us. In less than one generation we have seen violent changes in the political order throughout the world.

In Russia an absolute Monarchy was almost overnight replaced by an unparalleled experiment in atheistic Communism. In Italy a Fascist State extinguished parliamentary democracy. In Germany, monarchy fell, to be followed for a short interlude by democratic representative government, which was quickly replaced by the rise of a single dictator asserting absolute power, based not on a national, economic or cultural ground, but on the unique theory of race and blood.

In Mexico atheistic Communism is on the march with an expropriation of property, the destruction of religion and economic collapse. Japan is spending her vitality, destroying her prestige and losing the respect of all in her thirst for Oriental supremacy. Totalitarian States are set up in Turkey and elsewhere in middle and eastern Europe. Austria has disappeared as a national State and has become a vassal province. In France, parliamentary democracy seems on its last legs. The glory of the Crown of the British Empire is cast aside for a mere romantic adventure. In our own country, we witness the rise of a New State which assumes responsibility for the regulation of the whole structures of industry, commerce, agriculture and finance; seeks to dominate education and to control the popular machinery of our democratic processes by the unbridled concentration of power in the hands of the Executive.

And these new political orientations have produced animosities and conflicting ambitions between nation and nation. Nationalism has become a religion; race a fetish. International morality, which had formerly been elevated to commonly accepted principles of international law which were professed and respected as such, is now honored only in the breach. In fact, "the common opinion of mankind" is no longer consulted as a standard of conduct. Nationalism, racial supremacy and individual glory are

the substituted norms of action. "Each for himself and let the Devil take the hindmost" is the prevailing mode.

We no longer conduct international wars with even such decorum as is considered good sportsmanship in a prize fight or a street brawl. We just savagely attack our neighbor without any forewarning, and without feeling the need of any justification in conscience save our own advantage. We attack non-combatants as well as combatants. We ravish women and starve children. We destroy art and everything of cultural value. We desecrate our neighbor's God and his temples; we loot his possessions; and then to complete our task, we seek to obliterate our neighbors and to purge their nation, race and civilization, and forcibly give them the "blessings" of our "superior" culture. "We must make ready for another world war; we must prepare to destroy or be destroyed," is the warning cry of almost every nation.

This dismal picture of the world we live in cannot be a mere happenstance. There must be some reason and explanation for it! Such a deluge could not inundate the whole world at the same moment unless some common force was universally causing and motivating it. The whole mess is simply the inevitable and natural consequence of the "New Politics"; of the "New Mind" of the "New State"; of the "New Social Philosophy of Man."

The New State is conceived and organized solely on the principle of being politically efficient to achieve its own national advantage without any regard for the "common opinion of mankind." It permits no Constitution, no law, no tradition, no institution, to impair its efficiency. It will not suffer itself to be delayed in its progress by the necessity of consulting the will of its people. It refuses to be circumscribed by the precepts of any religion or the norms of any culture. It is governed solely by the law of self-interest and

expediency. Such a State obviously cannot stultify itself by recognizing any rights of man derivative from God and nature and hence outside the bounds of its jurisdiction. That is why all these New States have the same fundamental characteristic—absolute personal government instead of the rule of the people by law.

For economic security we are taught to rely, not on our own cultivated capacities and free enterprise, but rather to look solely to the State which owes us the obligation of support. We are taught that the State can control nature's laws and balance economy and protect us from all suffering, even from our own sins. We are offered not only a new protector and guardian, but even a New Creator who claims that he can re-create us in a new and better image. This New Creator seeks to cast us all in a new mold, to endow us with a new nature and to impress upon us a new civilization. We are brought up to the mountain top and promised the earth if we will only bow down and adore the State.

And this brings me to the heart and soul of the issue which confronts the world and our nation today. If we are in a revolution, it is not essentially a political revolution, nor an economic, nor a social revolution. It is a philosophical revolution—a revolution in our basic thinking. As a man thinks, so is he; and as a man is, so society becomes. So let us inquire what Man is thinking, so as to judge what is happening to him and what he is making of society!

The modern man has embraced the Great New Heresy, the theory of Man's perfectibility by his own efforts. He professes to believe that no special institutions, no strict moral discipline, no external authority and no Divine accountability are necessary to his progress or his happiness. He has convinced himself that his progress and well-being would result, and to a degree hitherto unknown, from the free play of nat-

ural forces in a world released from all external restrictions. Instead of glorying in the fact that he is God's creature, made in the Divine image and the proud possessor of Divine as well as human gifts and free will, Man aspires to become his own creator.

Generations ago—as today—men tried to build their own way into Heaven by bricks and mortar and, according to Holy Writ, they failed because a confusion of tongues possessed them. They could no longer communicate with each other in a common understandable idiom. They had different philosophies, ideas and ideals.

Western European civilization was based upon a single and coherent culture. It had a common language amongst its scholars; its philosophy in its fundamental concepts was the same; Christianity was its distinctive and dominant religion; its art, literature and music expressed the same motif; and its institutions had the same foundations and design.

Christianity was Catholicism and Catholicism was not only a religion—a theology—but a civilization. Europe, as a cultural community, came into existence as the society of Christendom during the Middle Ages, and because this society had a new conception of the nature and destiny of Man, it formed a new and different Man from the man of antiquity. It was this New Man who made Europe, who gave it its distinctive character, and who alone, therefore, is entitled to be called the characteristic European.

The Church was the depositary of the faith and traditions of that civilization and the great institutional bond between nations and people. When such a unifying and stabilizing force was deprived of its effectiveness disintegration naturally set in.

The historical root-source of the present chaos is found in the Reformation. A new direction in Man's thinking was initiated by the Reformation. The tragedy of our civilization lies in the fact that the

Reformation did not reform abuses and repair defects in the corner-stone of our culture, but it destroyed its very foundations. It purported to liberate man from the authority of the Church and boasted that it turned him over to himself. It cut him loose from the anchorage of his tradition without any chart or compass, indeed without even telling him his new destination. It taught, "Let your conscience be your guide," and with the result that there were as many guides as there were consciences.

The new philosophy born of the Reformation was the bacteria which spread the disease from which we are presently suffering. Man proudly harbored and incubated this germ as it flattered his pride and vanity. Atheistic Communism now arises to challenge this Neo-Christianity born of the Reformation as the Reformation did Catholicism. Totalitarianism now arises to challenge Democracy. Both proceed by the method of destruction, not reform, of existing institutions. The success of the New State depends not only on a new form of government but also on the destruction of our culture and the creation of a new Man.

The same thing is now happening in the political world which had happened in the religious world—an ever increasing splitting-up of political entities into sects, groups and "free thinking" individuals. What passes for judgment and truth in the modern world is the lowest common denominator of the ignorance of mankind. Think of it! The whole of civilization, law, order and justice depends upon the result of a mathematical equation taken at the polls or on the force of a mere mass movement. There are no abstract and uniform standards of value, measures of justice and concepts of right and wrong. Each group agitates for a political, social and economic system or measures which further their own interests or pet ideas, born of their own self-delusion, and when the majority of self-interest and thought numerically

agrees, a new system is established or new measures adopted. The wisdom and the practicality of such systems and measures are tested by Man's ambitions and caprices unrestricted by any authentic tradition, common culture or unified thinking. The cohesive force in society is removed.

Another characteristic of much contemporary thought is that it is radical, not in the sense of a criticism of certain defects or maladjustments of society, but in the sense of a protest against the whole complex of our institutions, traditions and standards of value. This school of thought is entirely destructive, not constructive; it is purely negative and has no positive tenets.

The Protestantism, born of the Reformation, was united on but a single tenet. It unanimously protested against Catholicism. The children of the Reformation even call themselves "Protestants"—those who protest. Protestants have never and do not now accept any uniform set of positive beliefs; they simply agree that they are opposed to this thing called Catholicism. Even when they do lip-service to a "Creed," they disagree as to its interpretation and refuse to accept any authority except "their own consciences." The New State in all its current manifestations is likewise a protest against the existing order, the traditional institutions of our civilization. It is also purely negative. It also refuses to be bound by any authenticated tradition or philosophy. It searches its own "conscience" for its sanctions and that "conscience" is most accommodating; it always finds justification for the expedient. And so we again witness the ruins of this modern tower of Babel, because of a "confusion of tongues."

We have been, in truth, in a period of slow decadence which has been gaining impetus by its own internal combustion. And in desperation man grasps at the straw of the Absolute State to rescue him from

his self-made chaos by attempting to restore some semblance of certainty and order. He discovers that even an uncertain certainty is better than a certain uncertainty. He embraces the authority of a man for the authority of God and the authenticity of a culture. Having lost his Divine independence and his political liberty he is now satisfied if he can only get economic security even as a ward of the State. All of this results from the fact that Man has abdicated his natural, inherited and Divinely endowed estate.

What has God made of Man? What is the Christian answer to that question? It is this: God created man in his own image with the free will and capacity to work out his own earthly and Heavenly destinies and, consequently, endowed him with the sanctity, dignity and responsibility of an individual personality. Christianity further teaches that certain rights are implicit in man's very nature and that, therefore, these rights are above and beyond the power of any earthly sovereign. These natural rights were given Man so as to implement him to perfect his Here so that he might merit his Hereafter. To contend that any earthly instrumentality can interpose itself so as to absolutely prohibit Man from achieving his mission is to contend that Man is a slave to another and powerless to save himself.

Christianity, of course, exacts that man shall be obedient to Government within the bounds of proper governmental activity. It clearly recognizes that Man has social responsibilities as well as individual rights. Christianity, in fact, clearly differentiates between the things which are Caesar's and the things which are God's and binds man in conscience to fulfil his duty to God and to Caesar both within their separate jurisdictions. It is in the differentiation between these two accountabilities that we find the fundamental contradiction between the Christian State and the modern Totalitarian State. The Christian State asserts and

limits two jurisdictions. The Totalitarian State denies every jurisdiction but its own, which it claims is absolute.

Christianity is also unique in that it gives a wholly new direction to human activity by its assertion of man's participation in divinity. The Christian ideology of man was proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and mechanized by the Constitution. It is the essential characteristic of what we call "Americanism."

This doctrine of the Divine Rights of Man is the Christian contribution to the political philosophy of Western European civilization and by adoption became the soul of our institutions. The doctrine of the Absolute State is the flat contradiction of this principle. The declaration of the Divine Right of Kings, which was an adaptation of the Absolute State, was given a new, authentic popularity in the philosophy of the Reformation.

The important thing to note is that once Man is cut loose in his thinking from the concept of his God-given rights he always goes in the direction of State Absolutism. That is why I have said that the seed of the present revolt against freedom was sown in the protest against Christian philosophy.

This philosophy is being basically challenged today, and in this simple fact we have the key to an understanding of what is happening in the world today. This challenge constitutes a world-wide revolution of the mind. Political, social and economic changes are its mere consequence.

The doctrine that Man is the creature of the State, licensed to enjoy certain privileges at the will of the State and lives only to serve the State, is a denial and repudiation of Christianity and of the institutions and traditions of our civilization. If a government claims that its powers are absolute, it is making a claim contrary to Christianity. A dictatorship of the majority is, in so far as it claims to invade essential human

rights, just as evil as the dictatorship of a minority or of an individual. When Caesar claims or appropriates the things which are God's, Caesar asserts his own omnipotence, his own divinity, and Caesar substitutes himself for God.

Look at the record! Why all these attacks on the Church and on Christianity in so many parts of the world today? They are not, as claimed, because of the political power or wealth of the Church, but because of its teaching. The New State can never carry its philosophy to its ultimate goal or enforce its precepts, if the citizenry denies its absolute jurisdiction and insists that it keep within certain bounds. A Christian, as a matter of his philosophy, cannot be a slave. This is a matter of his fundamental thinking. Social and economic reform might be necessary but, unless it is predicated on Christian principles, Man will be lost.

Of course, all government is to a certain extent an invasion of human freedom; but that invasion is valid or invalid as the principle of the dignity of human personality is admitted and respected. The trouble at present is that the State asserts the absolute right to invade Man's personal liberties by denying that Man is entitled to these rights as a matter of right.

By submitting to this philosophy Man is making of Man a very different thing from what God made of him. In accepting this new philosophy Man is merely decaying and dragging society down with him. Man cannot permit Caesar to trespass upon the things which are God's without destroying himself. The Christian order is an order of free men, not of economic robots, social units or vassals of an omnipotent state.

Man must defend himself against this new political, economic and social orientation. Man must protect himself against this new philosophy. This is what I mean by saying that this revolution is basically a

revolution in philosophy, in our fundamental thinking. Monsignor Sheen said in his Easter sermon, "The way to reform the world is to reform man." We must, therefore, consider ourselves in the first instance as the link which determines the strength of the entire chain.

And so we see that the dismal and tragic picture of the world today springs from a single cause. The same thing is causing the happenings in every part of the world. The same destructive force is at work. Viewed from this standpoint, the whole situation is quite understandable and explainable. I venture it as my interpretation of the meaning of contemporary history.

And just as I have pointed out that the strife and chaos of our time is attributable initially and basically to wrong individual thinking, so I can, with emphasis, assure you that Man can rehabilitate himself from his present decadence by pulling himself up by his own bootstraps and restoring himself to his lost estate by returning to his Father's House and replenishing his spent substance by reclaiming his Divine dignity and personality.

We must once again go on a crusade to rescue the Holy Grail of our Divine inheritance from these pagan iconoclasts. We must challenge these existing philosophies in the schools, on the public platforms, in the press, on the radio and at the polls. We must call a spade a spade. We must analyze all political, social and economic proposals and determine their wisdom and value as they jibe with the fundamental teachings of Christianity.

You cannot compromise with fundamentals of right; either you believe in a Christian civilization or you do not. If not, ask yourself, what is this new panacea which will change the face of all created things and bring back a millennium in our time? Is

the way we have been going giving us the promise of something better than what we have had?

In closing, let me clarify one possible confusion in your minds which might have been created by a seeming paradox in my reasoning. On the one hand, I have attacked the New State, the New Philosophy, because it seeks to deprive Man of his freedom; and on the other hand, I have decried the liberation of Man from the authority of his religion and the discipline of his traditional institutions. But in truth there is no contradiction in these points of view. Man can only be free if his freedom is founded upon and protected by Christian institutions. If those institutions impose no Divine accountability and social responsibilities, he could never enjoy individual liberty. Individual liberty must be safeguarded against the abuses of individual liberty.

Liberty can only be enjoyed in an ordered society where each respects the liberty of the other according to certain standards of conduct and ultimate values. The trouble with the New Philosophy is that it has no such norms of liberty; it sanctions its action on Man-made edicts and the man promulgating the edicts is absolute in his own right and subject to no external restraint. Under such a system, Man becomes the mere creature of Man instead of being the creature of God and therein lies his decay and ultimate destruction.

In a word, the Christian, the American, declared purpose of government is to secure the necessary liberty for the human person to pursue his destiny in that freedom which is due to the dignity and worth of human personality. If Man desecrates that dignity and allows the State to ravish it, he is in a process of decay. And that is exactly what is happening. That is what I mean by the decay of Man.

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